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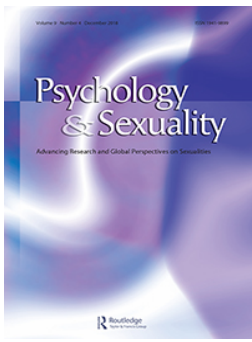
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# Global identification helps increase identity integration among Turkish gay men

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## ABSTRACT

Globalisation provides novel contexts for individuals to express and transform their identities in ways that may not be available in their local cultures. For gay men living in cultures where traditional masculinity norms prescribe heterosexuality and the rejection of homosexuality, gay-male identity is inherently threatened. However, adopting an identity as a 'global citizen' may increase the compatibility between gay and male identities, and hence augment well-being. We conducted an experiment with a community sample of 220 gay men in Turkey, manipulating pro- and anti-globalisation world views. Priming with pro-globalisation world views increased people's identification as global citizens, and thus indirectly led to higher gay-male identity integration. Identity integration, in turn, predicted higher subjective well-being. This study brings the first experimental evidence on the link between global identification and gay-male identity integration. Beyond its local focus on the cultural context of Turkey, it highlights the importance of an intersectional approach to studying social identities by showing how the compatibility of two social identities can be increased by adopting a third social identity.

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identity; intersectionality

People have multiple social identities, which can intersect in various ways depending on the context and salience of each identity (Dommelen, Schmid, Hewstone, Gonsalkorale, & Brewer, 2015). For example, in a society where traditional gender roles are valued, it could be easier to integrate sexual and gender identities if one is heterosexual and male; in contrast, it could be difficult to accept and express a gay-male identity, because traditional masculine norms prescribe heterosexuality and rejection of homosexuality in most countries (Connell, 2005; Eslen-Ziya & Koc, 2016; Herek, 1986). Most men try to live up to these masculine ideals and negotiate their own masculinity with the prescribed norms (Pleck, 1995; Wilson et al., 2010); yet, the identities of gay men may be inherently threatened because their sexual identity entails homosexuality whereas a masculine gender identity prescribes rejection of homosexuality in many cultural contexts (Boratav, Fisek, & Eslen-Ziya, 2014; Wilson et al., 2010). In such situations of identity threat, people are likely to use coping strategies seeking to maintain or restore coherent and satisfactory identities (Breakwell, 1986, 2014). This could be achieved by rejecting the particular threatening identity (Breakwell, 1986, 2014), changing patterns of group identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) or adopting another social identity (Koc & Vignoles, 2016). In this study, we investigate experimentally whether adopting a 'global citizen' identity can help integrate gay and male identities among gay men living in Turkey, where traditional masculine norms are prevalent.

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 Supplemental data for this article can be accessed [here](#)

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Early research on homosexuality in Turkey suggested that a 'homosexual identity' was defined in terms of one's sexual position – i.e. whether a man was the insertive (i.e. top) or receptive (i.e. the bottom) in a male same-sex sexual relationship (Tapinc, 1992). Insertive partners were able to benefit from the dominant perceptions of masculinity (Ozbay, 2010), whereas receptive partners were perceived to be inherently feminine (Murray, 2000). Yet this perception gradually lessened due to the increasing visibility and acceptance of gay identity across the globe (Tapinc, 1992; Bereket & Adam, 2006). Homosexual men started self-identifying as 'gay' through their encounters with LGBT organisations, which provided movies, visuals and translated articles from global sources (Bereket & Adam, 2006). These developments helped gay men connect to a larger global gay community and identify with an alternative gay culture beyond their national frontiers (Parker, 1999).

However, attitudes towards gay men have remained quite negative in Turkey, despite improvements in other western nations (Anderson & Koc, 2015; Sakalli, 2002), and LGBT people continue to experience direct and indirect forms of discrimination in access to education, employment and health care (Gocmen & Yilmaz, 2017). Dominant cultural conceptions of manhood in Turkey, also echoed by gay men themselves, maintained the importance of masculinity and the rejection of femininity (Bolak-Boratav, Fisek, & Ziya, 2014; Erol & Ozbay, 2013). Accordingly, gay men expressed internalised sexual prejudice towards other gay men (Eslén-Ziya & Koc, 2016). Since the ideal way of being a 'real man' requires them to be heterosexual and rejects both femininity and homosexuality, Turkish gay men continue to feel a conflict between their gay and male identities (Erol & Ozbay, 2013; Eslén-Ziya & Koc, 2016).

Here, we argue that global identification (i.e. identifying oneself as a global citizen) can transform the relationship between gay and male identities, reducing the conflict and increasing integration between them. Our theorizing is anchored in the wider social scientific insight that intersecting identities can shape, change and give meaning to each other (Shields, 2008). Globalisation is characterized by deterritorialisation of identity (Scholte, 2000), which implies that identities are released from their traditional local constraints (Rosenmann, Reese, & Cameron, 2016). Globalisation increases the availability of an inclusive level of identification – global identity – which connects individuals to all human beings (McFarland, Webb, & Brown, 2012; Reese, Proch, & Finn, 2015). Moreover, by fostering intercultural contact (Berry, 2008), globalisation exposes people to novel cultural values and ways of being (Arnett, 2002), which may then affect their self-categorisations and patterns of identification (Rosenmann et al., 2016). Thus, globalisation provides people with an opportunity to transform their identities in ways that are consistent with their desires but may not otherwise have been available to them. For example, gay men can see that being gay is not necessarily a stigmatised identity, but it can also be a societally accepted self-trait in other countries (Simon, 2004), and this may help them accept and express their sense of who they really are. Hence, global identification may facilitate comfortable expressions of one's own identity.<sup>1</sup> In the context of the present study, with the help of increased global identification, Turkish gay men might reappraise their perception of gay and male identities and increase the integration between them.

Most research into global identification so far has focused on how it can facilitate positive intergroup relations and help deal with recent global challenges. For instance, recent social psychological research has found relationships between global identification and reduced anti-gay bias (Rosenmann, 2016), less hostility towards immigrants (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007), less xenophobia (Ariely, 2016), higher intergroup empathy (Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013), greater support for human rights (McFarland et al., 2012) and greater behavioural intentions to reduce global inequality (Reese, Proch, & Cohrs, 2014; but see Rosenmann, 2016; for a more nuanced picture). Yet no research, to our knowledge, has focused on how the positive effect of global identification can be used to reduce identity conflict among those with marginalised social identities. Accordingly, this study aims to test the positive impact of global identification on the integration of gay and male identities among Turkish gay men.

Previously, Koc and Eslén-Ziya (2012) found qualitative evidence from interviews with Turkish gay men that identifying as a global citizen was linked to an integrated perception of gay and male

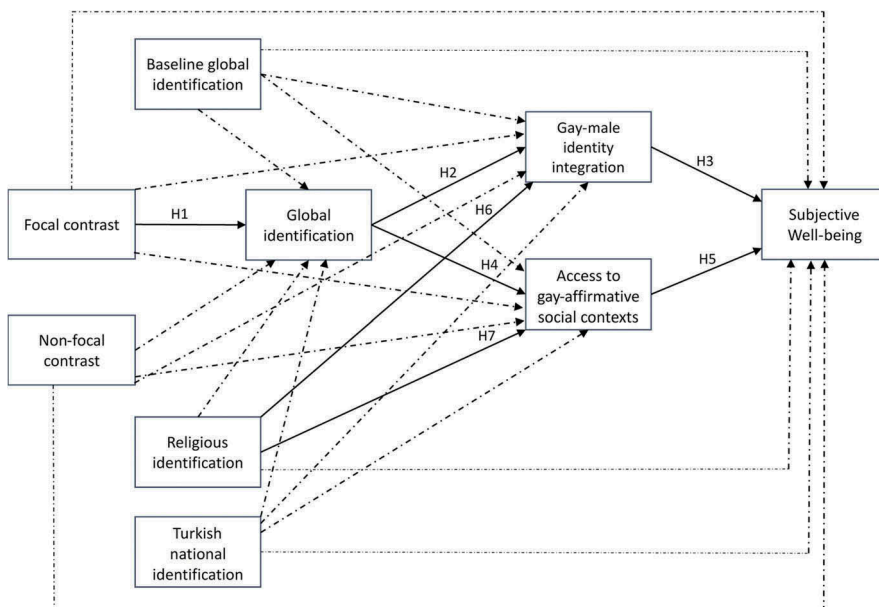
identities; seemingly, the global connection could help gay men reconstruct their identities by realigning their local and global experiences and developing belongingness to an alternative gay culture (Bereket & Adam, 2006; Parker, 1999). More recently, Koc and Vignoles (2016) found correlational evidence that global identification was positively associated with gay-male identity integration and thus indirectly with well-being. The current study aims to substantiate these findings with the first experimental evidence for a causal link from global identification to gay-male identity integration. Moreover, we expect that higher levels of identity integration will be associated with positive well-being, indicated by higher self-esteem, lower anxiety and greater life satisfaction, as has been evidenced in the case of bicultural individuals (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2012).

Additionally, we investigated an idea inspired by Jaspal and Cinnirella's (2012) suggestion that gay-affirmative social spaces may help potentially incompatible sexual and ethnic identities function compatibly. Identifying with a global community through connection to a larger gay community or online social environments may provide physical or psychological access to new social spaces or contexts for gay men where they can comfortably express their identities and may also affirm them. This might then indirectly increase their well-being. Accordingly, we tested this possibility.

### Overview of the present research and the hypotheses

We tested if increasing identification as a global citizen among Turkish gay men would lead to greater gay-male identity integration and increased access to gay-affirmative social contexts, namely where gay men feel they can comfortably express their identities. We also tested if increases in both gay-male identity integration and access to gay-affirmative social contexts would predict higher well-being (see Figure 1).

Previous research has shown that it is difficult to prime global identification directly among Turkish gay men (Koc & Vignoles, 2016). Here, rather than directly priming the identification, we aimed to foster (vs. undermine) identification by priming awareness of positive (vs. negative) aspects of globalisation. We hypothesized that priming a pro-globalisation (vs. anti-globalisation)



**Figure 1.** Conceptual model (solid lines show the hypothesized model and dashed lines show all the other paths included in the model).

world view would increase global identification (H1); higher global identification would then lead to higher gay-male identity integration (H2), and gay-male identification would then be related to higher subjective well-being (H3). Similarly, higher global identification would lead to higher access to gay-affirmative social contexts (H4), and higher access to gay-affirmative social contexts would then be related to higher levels of well-being (H5).

We also controlled for baseline global identification, Turkish identification as an alternative to global identification, and religious identification as an important factor in a traditional society. For Turkish identification, we did not make any specific predictions. For religious identification, based on previous evidence that religiosity is associated with the incompatibility of gay and male identities among Turkish gay men (Koc & Vignoles, 2016), we hypothesized that religious identification here would predict lower levels of gay-male identity integration (H6) and access to gay-affirmative social contexts (H7).

## Method

### Participants

In total, 257 participants completed the entire questionnaire. However, we excluded 37 participants, because 2 were younger than 18 years old, 6 requested to withdraw their data after debrief, 27 participants were self-identified bisexuals, 1 identified as queer and 1 did not specify their sexual orientation.<sup>2</sup> In the final sample ( $N = 220$ ), the mean age was 28.31 ( $SD = 8.26$ ) ranging from 18 to 51. Forty per cent were students, and the remainder had various occupations such as teachers, hair dressers, financial advisors and cooks. The average subjective socioeconomic status was 5.67 ( $SD = 1.80$ ), measured by asking participants to place themselves on the rungs of a ladder from 1 to 10 (higher scores indicating higher status) in comparison with other people in Turkish society (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000). Eighty-three per cent were single, 2.3% were married, one person did not disclose their relationship status and the rest were in a relationship. Using the Outness Inventory (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000), we also measured participants' level of 'outness' – how much they are 'out' to various other groups about their sexual identity. Overall outness was  $M = 3.02$  ( $SD = 1.44$ ) on a 7-point scale from 1 to 7 higher scores indicating more outness. Participants were most out to friends ( $M = 3.90$ ;  $SD = 2.02$ ) and least out to people from their religious community, if they belonged to one ( $M = 1.55$ ;  $SD = 1.36$ ).

### Procedure

The study was approved by the University of Sussex Sciences and Technology Cross-Schools Research Ethics Committee. We recruited the participants using an online gay dating application (Hornet, 2016) by sending a message to application users in Istanbul area (Koc, 2016). The recruitment message and all study materials were translated from English into Turkish by the first author, who is fluent in both languages. The message advertised a study on globalisation and self-perceptions and included a link to the online survey where participants gave their consent, completed pre-manipulation questions and then were randomly allocated to one of the three conditions: pro-globalisation manipulation, anti-globalisation manipulation and control. Finally, participants completed all the outcome measures and were debriefed. Since it is hard to estimate sample size for structural equation models using latent variables, and given the difficulties of sampling gay men in Turkey, we adopted a pragmatic approach to determining the sample size. We kept the survey open for 72 hours and decided to close when there were no longer new responses. Before starting to prepare the data for analysis, there were over 80 participants per condition. We ascertained that this would be sufficient to give 80% power to detect a small to medium effect size of .20 with a critical  $p$ -value of .05 in a one-way ANOVA for an experimental design with three conditions (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007).

## Design and analytical procedure

This was an experimental study with three conditions. We used structural equation modelling with latent factors on MPLUS (Version 6; Muthén & Muthén, 2010) to test the effects of the experimental manipulation in a mediation model, allowing us to estimate both direct and indirect effects amongst variables. For this, we first created two contrasts to represent the three experimental conditions. Since we were interested in whether increased global identification vs. reduced identification would lead to higher gay-male identity integration, we created a *focal contrast* comparing the pro-globalisation condition (coded 1) against anti-globalisation condition (coded -1, with the control condition coded 0); a second *non-focal contrast* compared the average of the two experimental conditions (coded 1) against the empty control condition (coded -2), allowing us to test whether the effects of pro-globalisation and anti-globalisation conditions were significantly asymmetrical.

Boomsma (1982) suggests that samples over 100 are sufficient for structural models using three or four indicators per latent factor. Accordingly, following the recommendations of Little, Cunningham, Shahar, and Widaman (2002), we created latent factors for each variable presented in Figure 1 using individual scale items, item parcels, subscales or scales as indicators. We describe these indicators below.

## Materials<sup>3</sup>

### Pre-manipulation identification measures

We measured each of the following three identifications (i.e. baseline global identification, Turkish identification and religious identification) before the manipulation, using three items for each construct (i.e. nine items in total): 'How central in your life is it to be global/Turkish/Muslim?' (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very central*), 'How important is it for you to identify as global/Turkish/Muslim?' (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very important*) and 'How often do you think of yourself as global/Turkish/Muslim?' (1 = *never*, 5 = *always*). Participants responded on 5-point Likert scales, with higher scores indicating higher identification. We created latent identification factors for each identity and used the three items for each respective identification as separate indicators. Reliabilities for each factor were acceptable:  $\alpha = .80$  (95% CI = .75, .85) for baseline global identification,  $\alpha = .86$  (95% CI = .82, .89) for Turkish identification and  $\alpha = .93$  (95% CI = .91, .94) for religious identification<sup>3</sup>.

### Experimental manipulation

Our experimental manipulation consisted of two parts and is reproduced in full in the online supplement. First, we asked participants to read a text about positive (vs. negative) aspects of globalisation. Both authors generated the texts together, highlighting the positive or negative aspects of globalisation assembled from non-academic and academic sources (e.g. Arnett, 2002). For example, the pro-globalisation text referred to globalisation as 'inclusive and influential in promoting human rights, civil liberties, political freedom and fair treatment of minorities' whereas the anti-globalisation text referred to it as 'assimilatory and creating conflicts in economic and social relationships, increasing poverty, and favouring the rich and the elite'. On the next page, in order to reinforce the effect of the text, we then presented the participants with four statements extracted from each text separately and asked them to rank the statements in the order of importance to them with respect to their own perceptions of globalisation for each condition.<sup>4</sup> Participants in the control condition did not read a text or rank any statements, but proceeded directly to the outcome measures.

### Global identification

We measured global identification after the manipulation with six items derived from various well-known identification scales (see Table 1 for complete list of items). Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating higher



**Table 1.** Global identification items.

Items	Source
(1) I would describe myself as a global citizen.	(Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013)
(2) To be a global citizen is important for me.	(Rosenmann, 2016)
(3) I have a lot common with the global citizens/people.	(Leach et al., 2008)
(4) I see myself as a world citizen.	(World Values Survey, n.d.)
(5) I feel strongly connected to the world community as a whole.	(Reese et al., 2014)
(6) I identify with the citizens of the world	(Postmes, Haslam, & Jans, 2013)

identification. Reliability was acceptable:  $\alpha = .88$  (95% CI = .85, .90). We created three item parcels of two items each, as indicators for the latent global identification factor.

### *Gay-male identity integration*

We used four indicators to measure gay-male identity integration, each of which is described below: gay-male compatibility circles (Koc & Vignoles, 2016), two subscales of gay-male identity integration scale (Koc & Vignoles, 2016) and the narrowness of gender identity scale (Falomir-Pichastor & Hegarty, 2014).

#### *Gay-male compatibility circles*

This is a single-item, pictorial measure with gay and male identities (Koc & Vignoles, 2016). Two circles measuring gay and male gradually overlap on a 7-step scale from no overlap to almost complete overlap. Participants were asked to choose the picture that best describes their perception regarding how gay and male identities might relate to one another. The scores ranged from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating higher levels of compatibility between the two identities.

#### *Gay-male identity integration scale*

This is a 14-item scale to measure integration between gay and male identities on a personal level (Koc & Vignoles, 2016; see online supplement), adapted from the bicultural identity integration scale (Huynh, 2009). This scale has two bipolar dimensions, blendedness versus compartmentalization (six items) and harmony versus conflict (eight items). Example items are 'I feel gay and male at the same time' (blendedness), 'Being both gay and male is like being divided into two parts' (compartmentalization), 'My gay and male identities are complementary' (harmony) and 'My gay and male identities are incompatible' (conflict). Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). Compartmentalization and conflict items were reverse coded, so that higher scores indicate higher integration. Reliabilities for each factor were acceptable:  $\alpha = .67$  (95% CI = .59, .73) for blendedness vs. compartmentalization and  $\alpha = .85$  (95% CI = .81, .88) for harmony vs. conflict.

#### *Narrowness of gender identity scale*

This is a three-item scale measuring to what extent participants endorse narrow beliefs and stereotypes about their gender group that exclude homosexual people (Falomir-Pichastor & Hegarty, 2014). A sample item is 'Homosexuality is contrary to being a man'. Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating higher narrowness. Reliability was acceptable:  $\alpha = .70$  (95% CI = .62, .77).

#### *Access to gay-affirmative social contexts scale*

We generated four items (one reverse phrased) to measure to what extent gay men have access to social environments or contexts where they feel they are accepted and they can comfortably express their identity. A sample item is 'I have social environments that accept me as a gay man' (see online supplement for all items). Four items correlated with one another well (smallest  $r = -.35$  and largest  $r = .82$ ). Participants were asked to indicate their agreement using a 5-point scale



(1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating higher levels of access to gay-affirmative social contexts. The reliability was acceptable:  $\alpha = .85$  (95% CI = .81, .88).

### *Subjective well-being*

We measured subjective well-being according to the well-known tripartite model (Diener, 1984; Mettler & Busseri, 2015) using three indicators, each of which is described below: satisfaction with life, positive affect and (absence of) negative affect.

### *Life satisfaction*

We used a single item from the Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) to measure life satisfaction, adapted to reflect state satisfaction rather than trait. This single item measure was previously found to reflect life satisfaction with comparable validity to the full scale (Cheung & Lucas, 2014). The item used was 'Right now, I am satisfied with my life'. Participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*), higher scores indicating higher life satisfaction.

### *Positive and negative affect*

We used six items constituting the positive and negative affect subscales of the Affect Valuation Index (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006). Example items are 'content' for positive and 'sad' for negative. Participants were asked to indicate how much they felt each affect at that moment using a 5-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *entirely*). Reliabilities were good for positive affect  $\alpha = .84$  (95% CI = .80, .88) and for negative affect  $\alpha = .83$  (95% CI = .79, .87).

## **Results**

Means, standard deviations and zero-order correlations are presented in Table 2. All variables correlated with each other in the expected direction, which allowed us to investigate their relationships further in a structural equation model testing our predictions.

### *Manipulation check*

First, we ran a univariate analysis of covariance using post-manipulation global identification as the dependent variable and condition as the independent variable, controlling for baseline global identification, religious identification and Turkish identification.<sup>5</sup> There was a significant main effect of condition,  $F(2, 214) = 4.71$ ,  $p = .010$ , partial  $\eta^2 = .04$ . Only pro-globalisation and anti-globalisation conditions were significantly different from each other,  $M_{diff} = 0.32$  (95% CI = 0.06, 0.57),  $p = .011$ . Participants in the pro-globalisation condition had higher post-manipulation global identification than participants in the anti-globalisation condition. Other contrasts were not significant. Also, baseline global identification positively and religious identification negatively predicted global identification after manipulation.

### *Measurement model for latent factors*

Prior to conducting our main analysis, we tested a seven-factor measurement model consisting of latent factors for baseline global identification, Turkish identification, religious identification, post-manipulation global identification, gay-male identity integration, access to gay-affirmative social contexts and subjective well-being. The model showed acceptable fit to the data, according to Kline's (2005) criteria:  $\chi^2(209) = 327.99$ ,  $p < .001$ ; comparative fit index (CFI) = 0.96; root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) = 0.05 (90% CI, 0.04, 0.06); standardised root-mean-square residual (SRMR) = 0.05. All indicators loaded significantly onto their respective latent factors ( $|\beta_s| \geq .32$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

Table 2. Means, standard deviations and zero-order correlations for variables in the study.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Mean	SD
1 Turkish identification	—											2.90	1.31
2 Religious identification	.64***	—										2.19	1.35
3 Pre-global identification	.01	-.05	—									3.44	1.18
4 Global identification	-.18**	-.26***	.54***	—								3.59	0.81
5 Harmony (vs. conflict)	-.20**	-.26***	.15*	.31***	—							3.93	0.73
6 Blendedness (vs. compartmentalization)	-.19**	-.26***	.16*	.30***	.78***	—						3.78	0.85
7 Gay-male compatibility circles	-.03	-.13	.06	.06	.26***	.30***	—					5.48	1.80
8 Gender identity narrowness	.01	.05	-.10	-.09	-.48***	-.52***	-.18*	—				1.60	0.69
9 Access to gay-affirmative social contexts	-.27***	-.44***	.29***	.34***	.44***	.44***	.22***	-.18*	—			3.65	1.05
10 Life satisfaction	.17*	.12	.13*	.05	.11	.21**	.14*	-.18*	.23***	—		2.90	1.18
11 Positive affect	.13	.04	.20***	.21***	.22***	.23***	.17*	-.18*	.38***	.62***	—	2.84	0.80
12 Negative affect	.06	.05	-.08	-.13	-.28***	-.33***	-.1	.11	-.36***	-.52***	-.68***	2.93	0.95

Note. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

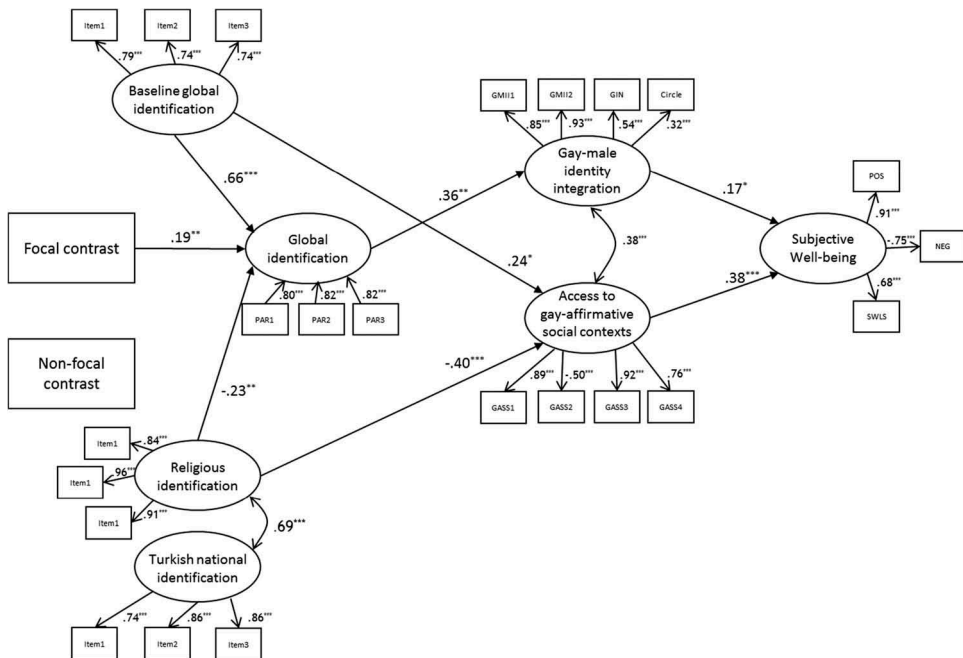
## Main analysis

Using these latent factors, we then tested a structural model of the hypothesized paths from the experimental manipulation (coded with two contrasts as described earlier) through to subjective well-being (see Figure 1).

Our structural model showed a good fit to the data;  $\chi^2(241) = 380.21$ ,  $p < .001$ ; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .05 (90% CI, 0.04, 0.06); SRMR = .05. Significant paths from this model, as well as the standardized factor loadings, are summarized in Figure 2.

Supporting H1, the focal contrast significantly predicted higher global identification ( $\beta = .19$ , 95% CI = 0.07, 0.29;  $p = .002$ ). Supporting H2, higher global identification predicted higher gay-male identity integration ( $\beta = .36$ , 95% CI = 0.12, 0.60;  $p = .003$ ). Combining these paths, the focal contrast had a significant positive indirect effect on gay-male identity integration via increased global identification (indirect effect:  $\beta = .07$ , 95% CI = 0.004, 0.12;  $p = .036$ ). This shows that our manipulation successfully increased gay-male identity integration via increased global identification. Moreover, supporting H3, gay-male identity integration significantly predicted higher subjective well-being ( $\beta = .17$ , 95% CI = 0.003, 0.35;  $p = .046$ ). Yet, the indirect effect from the focal contrast through increased global identification and gay-male identity integration to subjective well-being did not reach significance (indirect effect:  $\beta = .01$ , 95% CI = -0.004, 0.03;  $p = .146$ ).

On the other hand, failing to support H4, global identification was not significantly related to access to gay-affirmative social contexts ( $\beta = .10$ , 95% CI = -0.14, 0.34;  $p = .394$ ). However, there was a non-hypothesized significant path from baseline global identification to access to gay-affirmative social contexts ( $\beta = .24$ , 95% CI = 0.009, 0.47;  $p = .042$ ). Supporting H5, access to gay-affirmative social contexts was significantly related to subjective well-being ( $\beta = .38$ , 95% CI = 0.20, 0.56;  $p < .001$ ). The indirect effect from baseline global identification to well-being via access to gay-affirmative social contexts was marginally significant ( $\beta = .0$ , 95% CI = -0.008, 0.19;  $p = .070$ ).



**Figure 2.** Structural equation model with standardized estimates. Solid lines show significant paths, and non-significant paths were not included in the figure (\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$ ).

Finally, failing to support H6, religious identification did not significantly predict gay-male identity integration ( $\beta = -.12$ , 95% CI =  $-0.34, 0.09$ ;  $p = .252$ ); however, supporting H7, it significantly and negatively predicted access to gay-affirmative social contexts ( $\beta = -.40$ , 95% CI =  $-0.60, -0.20$ ;  $p < .001$ ). There was also a significant indirect effect of religious identification on subjective well-being via access to gay-affirmative social contexts ( $\beta = -.15$ , 95% CI =  $-0.26, -0.05$ ;  $p < .004$ ).

The non-focal contrast and Turkish identification did not significantly predict any variables in the model. Turkish identification covaried significantly with religious identification ( $\psi = .69$ , 95% CI =  $0.61, 0.78$ ;  $p < .001$ ).

We also bootstrapped with 10,000 resamples to test the robustness of our findings, checking at 95% bias-corrected adjusted confidence intervals (MacKinnon, Lockwood, & Williams, 2004). Bootstrapping is useful for indirect effects, which are not assumed to be normally distributed. If confidence intervals do not cross zero, this provides stronger evidence that the effects are robust. Accordingly, confidence intervals did not cross zero for the significant indirect effect of the focal contrast on gay-male identity integration via global identification (95% BCa CI =  $0.001$  to  $0.13$ ), and for religious identification to subjective well-being via access to gay-affirmative social contexts (95% BCa CI =  $-0.28$  to  $-0.03$ ); yet, the confidence interval crossed zero for baseline global identification to subjective well-being via access to gay-affirmative social contexts (95% BCa CI =  $-0.04$  to  $0.22$ ).

The final model accounted for 53.7% of variance in global identification, 16.8% of variance in gay-male identity integration, 29.9% of variance in access to gay-affirmative social contexts and 26.4% of variance in subjective well-being.

## Discussion

We tested if priming pro-globalisation (vs. anti-globalisation) world views would lead to higher gay-male identity integration and perceived access to gay-affirmative social contexts via increased global identification. We also tested if these changes would be linked to higher subjective well-being. As we hypothesized, priming a pro-globalisation world view increased global identification and indirectly led to higher gay-male identity integration. Our results provide the first experimental support for previous qualitative (Koc & Eslen-Ziya, 2012) and correlational findings (Koc & Vignoles, 2016) in the field with respect to gay-male identity integration. Beyond their local importance for the cultural context of Turkey, these findings contribute to larger debates regarding the intersectionality of social identities. Extending Shield's (Shield, 2008) argument that social identities intersect and they mutually constitute and reinforce one another, we brought the first experimental evidence that boosting one social identity can affect the meanings of other social identities – here helping reduce conflict between two other identities and thus supporting identity integration.

On the other hand, priming pro-globalisation world views did not significantly alter participants' perceived access to gay-affirmative social contexts. We had initially predicted that identifying as a global citizen would make participants feel linked to people with whom they can comfortably express their identities. This idea did receive correlational support in our data. Baseline global identification predicted higher access to gay-affirmative social contexts, and there was marginally significant evidence of an indirect effect extending to higher subjective well-being. Thus, individuals who identified more strongly as global citizens did report more access to these contexts (either mentally or physically). However, priming pro-globalisation world views did not lead to higher gay-affirmative social contexts. In retrospect, it seems likely that the perception of these contexts may not be prone to change at the state level – perhaps it takes time to engage in and develop a sense of belonging towards such contexts. Access to gay-affirmative social contexts could be another coping strategy for gay men to deal with threats to their identity, develop a positive sense of self and increase their well-being. Further research should investigate whether these contexts help gay men to satisfy the need for belonging (Bereket & Adam, 2006; Parker, 1999), frustration of which can threaten identity (Knowles, Lucas, Molden, Gardner, & Dean, 2010; Vignoles, 2011).

Unlike previous research that used a single item measure of global identification (Koc & Vignoles, 2016), one strength of this paper is that participants were primed with different world views related to globalisation. This prime helped them increase (or decrease) their identification in the pro-globalisation (vs. anti-globalisation) condition. In some previous research, participants were asked directly what they have in common with Western people or what aspects of global Western culture they identify with (Rosenmann, 2016); in contrast, we provided them with some content of this identity, and this in turn changed the strength of their identification. However, we used a combination of several content dimensions in the prime: globalisation enabling (or disrupting) intercultural communication, positives (or negatives) of global technology, cultural richness (vs. assimilation) or ease of travel (vs. global warming as an outcome of this). Future research might involve creating more fine-grained experimental manipulations to see which aspects of globalisation matter more or less for identification and gay-male identity integration.

One important issue remains to be addressed is the underlying mechanism between global identification and gay-male identity integration. Previously, we tested whether it was alternative perceptions of masculinity (as opposed to traditional) that linked global identification to higher gay-male identity integration; however, we could not find evidence for that (Koc & Vignoles, 2016). Future research may test whether cognitive alternatives that may explain this relationship (e.g. Tajfel, 1978). Iyer and colleagues suggest that in the presence of cognitive alternatives, 'group members focus on the prospect of improved opportunities and resources for the group in the future, rather than its current adversity' (Iyer, Zhang, Jetten, Hao, & Cui, 2017, p. 2). Global identification may provide gay men with cognitive alternatives that involve the prospect of a better and desired future for them, and this may help them change their appraisal of the compatibility between these two identities. More research is warranted to test this claim.

Moreover, this study extended previous research on the negative relationship between religiosity and well-being for gay men. We found that more religious participants were less likely to have access to gay-affirmative social contexts, which was then negatively related to well-being. However, not all interpretations of Islam condemn homosexuality (see Jamal, 2001), and priming alternative interpretations of Islam such as toleration and doing good deeds for all (similar to Golden Rule primes of Bible; see Vilaythong T., Lindner, & Nosek, 2010) may help Muslim gay men reconcile with their own religious identity. Future research should investigate this interesting possibility.

In sum, we extended previous research into gay-male identity integration with an experimental design and by measuring perceived access to gay-affirmative social contexts. Most crucially, the study provides the first experimental evidence for a causal effect of global identification on gay-male identity integration. Future research should unpack other mechanisms involving this interplay of multiple social identities by testing longitudinal effects of global identification on access to gay-affirmative social contexts, identifying the specific aspects of globalisation that foster identification as a global citizen and reinforce gay-male identity integration, and investigating possible effects of alternative representations of Islam on gay-male identity for religious individuals.

## Notes

1. Here, based on the evidence provided by Parker (1999), Bereket and Adam (2006) and Koc and Vignoles (2016), we focus on the positive facilitating aspects of global identification. We acknowledge that global identification can also be associated with negative perceptions or evoke opposition in local communities. For this, please see a detailed discussion in Rosenmann et al. (2016).
2. Although we initially decided to retain bisexual and queer participants in our sample, given that they experience similar levels of stigma in Turkey, their scores on outness and gay-affirmative social context measures were significantly different from the rest of the sample. Since our items specifically used the word 'gay' and asked questions about gay identity, we decided to remove participants who labelled their sexual identity in other ways.
3. Some additional measures were included in the data but not analysed here. We collected pre-manipulation measures of Western, male and gay identification. We asked participants to rate a number of traits (e.g. manly,

fashionable) stereotypically related to gay and male identities in terms of how essential it is to be or not to be like those traits. Finally, we asked participants to complete a measure of internalised sexual prejudice.

4. When we piloted this novel manipulation, we initially included a third page where we asked participants to write a few sentences about their highest ranked statement; however, we encountered a high level of attrition at this point, and so we decided to remove this part from the main study to maximise participant retention.
5. Since there are drop-outs in the online survey and we excluded a number of participants, we decided to control for the same set of variables that we also control for in the path model.

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## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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